In the presence of any member of the other sex the rules of etiquette are strictly observed. No improper word may be used; for example, every term applying to sexual relationship, and even the words for apron, bälebal and siwisif, are forbidden. If the group is not a mixed one, the conversation is extremely blunt. Even in the presence of little boys, the men discussed sexual matters, and the children laughed about them. In the same way, the women used obscene language when little girls were around. When Sarfert was alone with the women, they spoke in round about ways of intercourse. When he showed them a waliwot with penis, they imitated coitus movements with it, or suggested this with their fingers. They made no attempt to hide the fact that they wanted to sleep with Sarfert, but they were afraid of their husbands, and of the head chief. This bold and provocative demeanor is in striking contrast to the custom, which requires that in the presence of their husbands, the women shall be restrained, even shy and frightened. Sarfert could always tell the difference. When men were in the group, the women only dared show their affection for him by sly signals, which they made from a distance.

5: Kittlitz--155-56
116, 562, 609, 834

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1 - 4

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great